1: Gifford E-4,S (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

> At Tongataboo we noticed just the very reverse: in the presence of the aged the younger persons observed the most respectful silence. . . .
>
> In the Friendly Islands marriage is general, and, except the chiefs, they seem to have only one wife. It is said at Tongataboo, that adultery is punished with death. There, and at the Marquesas, no infant murders are allowed; but, contrariwise, they are fond of their children, and take pleasure in a numerous family. Though at the decease of Tibo Moomôoe [Tui Kanokupolu Mumui], and during his illness, some cruel and inhuman practices are mentioned, yet nothing comparable with the horrible human sacrifices at Otaheite. In another feature also they differ, as old age is as much respected at Ohitahoo and Tongataboo as it is neglected at Otaheite.

Elsewhere (66, p. xlix) Wilson remarks: "The women were far less immodest [than those of Eastern Polynesia]; but the men were more generally addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called kava."

The manner in which an establishment set up by a newly married couple may be augmented is illustrated by the following example. When a Hihifo (western Tongatabu) chief married a Hahake (eastern Tongatabu) woman, some of the wife's relatives came to live with the couple at their home in Hihifo. When a child was born still more came. They would look after the pigs, and the plantations. They did more for the couple than did the husband's relatives, although they too were supposed to aid. This is a manifestation of the superiority of the husband's side of the family to the wife's.

RANK WITHIN THE FAMILY

Rank within the Tongan family involves two fundamental factors, sex and age. Of the two, sex is unalterable and may transcend age. A woman is always superior in rank to her brother regardless of seniority and it follows from this that a woman's children are always superior to her brother's children. After sex, relative age becomes the determinant for rank. Generally speaking, older sisters outrank younger sisters and older brothers outrank younger brothers.

The father's side of the family is the chiefly (*eiki*) side, the mother's side of the family the commoner (*tua*) side.

A child must respect his father and his father's brother who are in many ways tapu to him; but to his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) he must pay even greater respect. It is she who is really supreme in the family. Her person, food, clothes, and bed are tapu; she often controls the matrimonial destinies of her brother's children. The respect which is shown her is extended also to her husband. In other words, a man marrying a woman has the same sort of social superiority to his wife's brothers that the woman herself has. It is the woman's relatives who frequently serve her and her husband. A striking example of this principle is revealed in a curious practice. While eating, the people of Niuafoou Island turn their backs to

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Thus, the term Haa Ata is not the name of a recognized lineage, but simply designates Ata and his inferior relatives and followers. It is a good example of how a lineage name may arise. The term Haa Maufanga is another term that does not designate a true lineage. It refers to a place in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu, where Latukefu resided. In this connection the informant stated that in Hihifo were several tracts of lands about the Tui Kanokupolu's residence which were occupied by the chiefs and retainers who formed his court. The names of such places may be taken by the chiefs to villages which they form at other places with their people. The informant said that the village of Maufanga, just east of Nukualofa, was named after the Maufanga in Hihifo. Whether this is so I cannot say for certain. At any rate, the first Ulukalala was connected with the Tui Kanokupolu in Hihifo and then seems to have been buried at Maufanga in Hihifo.

A recent example of a new social group arising within a community is constituted by the former inhabitants of the island of Velitoa, Tongatabu, and their descendants (presumably patrilineal). The inhabitants of that small island fled during the last religious wars carried on by George I Tupou. Some fled to Mua, Tongatabu Island, the seat of the Tui Tonga and of Catholicism at that time. There they were arbitrarily classified as one family (which they probably were to a large extent) and given the name Veli, an abbreviation of the name of the island. People of that name still live at Mua and are considered blood relatives. Others of the fugitives went to Fiji where they likewise go by the name Veli.

The aged informant Tamale of Niutoua, Tongatabu, said that a man moving to a new place in olden days was referred to by the most important tract (*api*) name of the place from which he came. He said that the tract (*api*) Loka, near Niutoua, was in charge of his matapule *tehina* (younger brother) and that anyone belonging to that individual's "family" was spoken of as belonging to the Haa Loka. This would imply a geographic application of the term *haa* in the sense of the "people of such-and-such a place."

There was no rule against marriage within the *haa*. Close blood relationship was the only bar. Patrilocal residence is said to have been the rule with both chiefs and commoners, a factor which would tend to keep the patrilineal *haa* localized.

Examples of modern tracing of lineage affiliation are cited:

Toamotu, a minor chief of Koloa Island, Vavau, gave the following explanation of his membership in the Haa Takalaua: Nanasi, daughter of Fanualofanga (chief of Lofanga Island), lived with Haveapava. She bore him three children (Siulua, a girl; Malouiha, a girl; Malupo, chief of Uiha). Malouiha lived with Ngalumoetutulu (said by the informant to be a Tui Haa Takalaua sometime after Kafoa, although no one by this name is listed). Their son was the first Toamotu and a member of the Haa Takalaua, as are his descendants through males.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

A group of people desiring to obtain something from a chief usually try to have their own chief, or at any rate, some chief, act as spokesman. During my stay in Eua, the Methodists of the island desiring the use of a house in Nukualofa, Tongatabu, that belonged to the chief Tuita, took the Eua chief Hafoka as their spokesman and representative in making application to Tuita. Although one of their number, Hafoka was quite the proper person to make the request, because he was a chief.

The titled chiefs stand in certain fixed relationship to one another. Thus Ata, the "dean" of the Tongan chiefs is "grandfather" (*kui*) to all of the chiefs of the kingdom, except the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs, to whom he is "older brother" (*taokete*). The chiefs specifically enumerated as standing in the relationship of "grandchildren" to Ata are Fakafanua, Tui Haa Ngana, Tui Haateiho, and Malupo; but not Tui Lakepa, who is head of the lineage Fale Fisi. To the Tui Kanokupolu, Ata is "younger brother" (*tehina*). These are not true relationships, even though considered as extensions of terms for lineal relatives to collateral relatives. They are, if anything, mirrors of the relationships in which the first title bearers stood to one another. The fact that succession to titles has not always been from father to oldest son precludes the relationship terms from being accurate, classificatory designations of the relationships of present day title bearers. Thus, to a man named David Uasi the present Ata once stood in the collateral relation of "son," whereas, now that he is Ata, he stands in the relation of "grandfather."

Within the lineage Fale Fisi, Tui Lakepa is highest and is denoted as "father" by the other members of the lineage. Tui Haa Teiho is "older brother" to Malupo and Tui Haa Ngana. Tui Haa Ngana is the "youngest brother" and Malupo the "middle brother." At the present time, Tui Haa Teiho is a boy, Malupo and Tui Haa Ngana middle-aged men. Tui Lakepa has the precedence of the other Fale Fisi chiefs at kava parties.

Special Treatment of Children of Chiefs

Commonly the daughter of a chief had a separate house (*fale fakakaufefine*) within the chief's compound, cared for by one or more old women. In this house the daughter lived with several girl attendants but she might sleep in her father's house if she wished.

Similarly a chief's son might gather about him a number of young men and reside in a separate house (*fale fakakautangata*) and even in a separate enclosure. Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 344) describes Poulaho's (Tui Tonga Pau) son Fuanunuiava, a lad of twelve years, as having a house of his own and as being attended by a circle of boys and by an old man and an old woman A good example of the congregating of young men with the chief's son

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (26, p. 77), one version of which specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates.

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou*, a Samoan term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine*. Girls, classed as *taupoou*, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as in Samoa.

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names. If *manaia* and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following processes were used: (a) *kaukautuitui*, the rubbing of the entire body with chewed candlę nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body.

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa*. After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

21. Fakafanua. Maufanga, Tongatabu Island; Faleloa, Foa Island, Haapai; and Ngaakau, Vavau Island. 423
22. Vahai. Foui, Tongatabu Island; Taanea, Vavau Island. 643
23. Tui Vakano. Nukunuku, Tongatabu Island. 622
24. Ahomee. Haavakatolo, Tongatabu Island; Utui, Vavau Island. 551
25. Fulivai. Hunga Island, Vavau group; Fangalepa and Lotouiha, Vavau Island. 103
26. Lutui. Falevai, Kapa Island, Vavau. (Lutui now called Fakatulolo.)
27. Tangipa. Mahinafekite, Niuatoputapu Island.
28. Fusitua. Faletanu and the eastern side of the road in Angaha, and Maufanga, Niuafoou Island.
29. Tuita. Kolokimuli, Tongatabu Island; Utungake, Utungake Island, Vavau; Utungake and Haafakahenga, near Faleloa, Foa Island, Haapai; and Futu, Niuafoou Island.
30. Fohe. Puke, Tongatabu Island.
31. Motuapuaka. Teekiu, Tongatabu Island; Haufolau, Utungake Island, Vavau.
32. Lauaki. Talafoou, Tongatabu Island; Masilamea, Vavau Island.
33. Afu. Haalaufuli, Vavau Island.
34. Fotu. Leimatua, Vavau Island.
35. Tuuhetoka. Haafeva Island, Haapai.
36. Akauola. Taunga and Fonuaoneone (see below) islands, Vavau.
37. Lasike. Lakepa in Ahau, Lakepa in Neiafu, Lakepa in Haatau, Lakepa in Kalaau, Lakepa in Haamea, Lakepa in Navutoka, Fonongahina, Tafangafanga in Hahake, Tongatabu Island; Lakepa in Eua Island.
38. Veikune. His hereditary lands in Tongatabu group: 1, Longoteme and Matamoana, Tongatabu Island; 2, Oneata Island; 3, Kanatea Island. His hereditary lands in Vavau: 1, Paleaoau at Fongotofe, Vavau Island; 2, Talahuo, inland side of road of Fongotofe; 3, Lolopipi, between Ngaakau and Vaimalo; 4, Longomapu; 5, Kolotahi Island; 6, Haakoka and Fangaeva.

In the reign of Queen Charlotte, "hereditary" lands were granted as follows:

36. To Akauola, the island of Fonuaoneone, Vavau group.
39. To the great chief Tupoutoa (formerly John Mateialona), a portion of the island of Eua.

Of 39 "inheritance" holders, all are chiefs except Nos. 26, 31, 33, 34, and 36, who are matapules, and No. 35, who is conflictingly classified as both matapule and chief. 423 622 565

It is said that neither the Tui Tonga nor the Tui Haa Takalaua granted fiefs to their matapule. The modern matapule hold fiefs given them by King George I to show his gratitude and to show that he "acted differently" from his predecessors, the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa Takalaua. 643 423 644

Informants were agreed that anciently all land was the Tui Tonga's and was bestowed by him upon the various chiefs. It seems to have been the custom that land so bestowed remained indefinitely in the recipient's family, each succeeding holder of his title being confirmed in tenure. Much the same scheme seems to have held for the tracts allotted to matapules and commoners. The normal procedure was for the sons to live upon the land where their father had dwelt. A chief, however, could dispossess his commoners at any time, or transfer them from one part of his land to another, even though they opposed the move. 643 423 622 624 644 565 428 591 565

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

catching them, owing to the greater number of reefs and shelves. With this canoe, a certain chief, named Mahe Boogoo, departed for Hapai, where he possessed a large property, on which he was desirous to reside for the future. He had also a plantation at Vavaoo, situated on the northern coast, about a mile and a half long, and half a mile broad, one end of which ran down close to the water's edge: this property he made a present of to the king. It will be proper to give a description of this plantation, because it includes, near the sea, the most romantic spot in all the Tonga islands; which constitutes the subject of many of their songs, and is a place of resort to the young and old of both sexes, who wish to enjoy, for a few hours, the luxury of romantic scenery: it is famous, also, for having been, at a former epoch, the scene of an enterprising action on the part of some young chiefs, who took refuge there from their adversaries, and obstinately held their position for six months.

It happens that nature has assembled in this spot, not only the wildest profusion of the vegetable kingdom, over which the lofty *toa* tree stands pre-eminent, but also objects of another description, overhanging rocks, hollow-sounding caverns, and steep precipices, calculated to give an aspect as bold and sublime as the ima-

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

the household head and twelve types of matrilineal relationship of household members to the wife of the household head. Out of the total of 268 persons covered by the household census, 32 are living matrilocally. Hence household grouping of relatives is predominantly patrilocal and patrilineal. Patrilocal residence is the rule for marriage. This is emphasised by the fact that in only five of the marriages recorded is there matrilocal residence. The biological family of mother, father, and children composes fourteen of the forty-four households. It is also the basis for a further fourteen households. Daughter's children and father's sister's children are the most common kin among the additional members of all the households.

In Pangai village there are forty-four households. This gives an average household membership of 6.1 persons. Omitting three anomalous households which consist of one person each, the average for forty-one households with a total membership of 265 is 6.5 persons per household. That this figure corresponds to a fairly typical Polynesian norm is shown by the following table:

TABLE 10.—HOUSEHOLD MEMBERSHIP[17]

Place	Pukapuka	Hawaii	Futuna	Uvea	Tonga
Average Membership	6.5	6.9	8.0	8.77	6.5

These figures suggest that the Polynesian household ranges between six and eight persons. For comparison it may be noted that the average size of the American urban family is about 3.43 persons. The Polynesian household, therefore, is much larger than the white family and manages to hold its size despite years of contact with the ways of the white man. The size of the household group may in fact be taken as a rough index of the degree to which the Polynesian in general has assimilated patterns of white behaviour in contradistinction to the tenacity with which he holds on to native patterns of household-organization and the social values which are implied by this type of large household-grouping.

[17] These comparative figures are from Beaglehole, *Some Modern Hawaiians, University of Hawaii, Res. Bull.* 19, 1939, 49.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

582 602 604 the old lady wailed to everyone that she hoped to die before the marriage took place. The marriage did take place. The old lady did not die. In the twelve years since the marriage, there have been no children.

591 604 602 In the case just mentioned, the matter was complicated by the fact that Heu had to stay in Pangai to take care of the old woman. In other cases the wife would go to her husband's village to live. There the children would find their husband's sister to teach them respect. But the mother's brother would continue to reside in the mother's village. Then the children would learn respect, but they would find it hard to draw on the resources of the mother's brother. From all points of view, therefore, the system of relationships that unites one generation to the father's sister and the mother's brother of the preceding generation can best be put in operation if all parties concerned live in the same village or in closely connected villages. If this kind of residential requirement is impossible, then reciprocity of kinship tends to crumble before the blows of a logic of distance.

THE LIFE CYCLE

PREGNANCY

843 A woman uses several signs as an indication of pregnancy. She finds herself without much appetite and feels physically weak. She is also abnormally sensitive to bad smells. Menstruation ceases. Later there is darkening of the area round the nipples and a swelling of the breasts. There are no *tapu* for the husband during the period of pregnancy, but the mother must be careful of many things. It is *tapu* for her to wind things round her neck lest her baby be born strangled by the umbilical cord. She must not cut or pull buttons off her husband's shirts in the course of sewing and repair or her baby's ears and mouth might be torn or damaged during delivery. It is *tapu* to eat while sitting on her husband's sleeping-mat lest the baby's head become soft and swollen. It is *tapu* to eat or drink hot food or the baby will be born with a raw, reddish skin. Eating octopus or reef-foods is likely to give the baby a spotted skin; eating certain kinds of fish will prevent a development of

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

582 from other villages in Vava'u, and seventeen per cent. married women from outside Vava'u. Of this last number, five of the women were from Ha'apai and Tongatapu, one was from Samoa. In fifty-seven per cent. of the marriages made by Pangai men (born and in residence in Pangai), the practice is therefore for the mates to come from villages other than Pangai. Nine Vava'u villages are represented in this connection: two of them are the residences of three mates each, one of two mates each, and six of one mate each. There is perhaps some apparent tendency therefore, for Pangai men to prefer and choose mates from some villages rather than others, but the preference is not pronounced, nor does there appear to be specific reason for this preference other than chance.

There is likewise a similar tendency (implicit in the table above) for Pangai women to marry in about the same proportions outside of Pangai village. In other words, more than half the men of Pangai look for marriage mates outside of their own village. There is also evident in the table a slight tendency for Pangai women to marry men from other villages who break the rule of patrilocal residence and take up residence matrilocally, that is, in the village of their wives. This accounts for the fact that nine non-Pangai men have married Pangai women and have taken up Pangai residence thereafter; whereas, according to rule, the women should have left Pangai and gone to reside in the villages of their husbands. This number is not really so large as it seems. Of the six men in this Table 11, A shown as having birthplaces outside Vava'u, two are from Niuafo'ou and two are from Uvea. All four had taken up residence in Pangai before their marriage to Pangai women. They had attached themselves to already established Pangai households and were considered to all intents and purposes as Pangai residents. The marriages of Pangai men to non-Pangai women have been initiated by contacts made with these women in the course of the men's visits to other villages in Vava'u or through a much more occasional visit to relatives in other parts of the kingdom.

582 591

582 574 584

582 The figures suggest in sum, that the village is far from being in-grown in the matter of marriage choices. Because of the fact that many are related to most within the village

A. [See category 116 p. 89--Analyst]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

585 the bride and groom slept at Semisi's house. Thereafter
[591] they went to live with the bride's family in Toula on a sort of extended visit.

585 178 [177] This marriage as just described shows very clearly the blending of old and new. The feasting and gift-giving are Tongan, the civil registration and church-marriage originally white importations, though now none of the villagers but conceives them as anything but right and natural. The necessity for the young people to obtain the consent of their elders before the marriage can be carried out is also well [833] illustrated. Finally, the custom of delaying intercourse for a noticeable period after the marriage ceremony is still strongly observed as one of the customs which no villager would think of breaking.

ELOPEMENT

584 It is obvious from the foregoing accounts of marriage that the elders may and do decide whether a marriage shall occur. Their decision is generally based on a cool calculation [581] of compatibility together with such matters as reputation for industry, relative wealth of the family of the groom, and other materialistic factors. The elders must also be prepared, should they assent to the marriage, with suitable quantities of food and mats for the celebration of the 584 marriage. Many young people today rebel against this 561 domination by their elders, and many elders (it must be admitted) are not unhappy over this rebellion if it saves 178 them in the expenditure of food and gifts necessary for the proper Tongan marriage. Elopements and marriages with-584 out consent of parents are therefore becoming not uncommon 583 in the village. This is shown by the fact already mentioned, 178 that of thirty-five marriages studied, sixteen only were full-style Tongan marriages, the remaining nineteen being civil- and church-registrations only, without the benefit of gift-giving and feasting.

583 Two young people who marry without consent of their 593 parents may return to Pangai if they feel that the anger of their parents is not too great to be faced, or else they may find shelter with distant relatives or friends in far-away villages if parents' ire is great, only returning to Pangai

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

KINSHIP ORGANISATION AND BEHAVIOUR IN A CONTEMPORARY TONGAN VILLAGE

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I should like to thank Professor Toichi Mabuchi for suggestions and Professor William Newell for criticism of the manuscript. I also wish to thank the villagers who so kindly assisted me in my work.

Preface

This is a descriptive study on the kinship organisation and behaviour of Tongan commoners in a contemporary Tongan village. It will discuss the following questions. 1. Within what kind of kinship network do people live in a rural area of Tonga today? 2. How do they behave in such a network?

Kinship in Tonga has been variously described in the literature. According to G. P. Murdock[1] the Tongans are classified as an extended family type with polygamous household; patrilocal residence, but matrilocal residence as a patterned alternative; limited polygymy; absence of any unilinear kin groups; bilateral kindred; cross cousin marriage is disapproved symmetrically but not specifically forbidden. In these characteristics we do not find any particular kin group except kindred. But, on the other hand, R. Firth,[2] and others,[3] discuss the *ha'a* which is called an optataive descent group or sept or ramage.[4] According to their definition the *ha'a* is not of a kindred type but resembles a lineage in several ways. Are there, then, two types of kin group in Tonga? If there are two, how do they work together? Through the intensive study of a small village, I will try to clarify the above point.

I stayed in the Kingdom of Tonga from July 1962 to February 1963, and the field work for this paper was done in Nukuleka village from November 1962 to January 1963. Nukuleka is located in the eastern part

1. Murdock 1957: 681.
2. Firth 1957: 5.
3. Davenport 1959: 342.
4. Sahlins 1958: 139-150.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

592 D. 1 household that contains A plus wife's children who were
594 born in her previous marriage and husband's father's second
596 wife with her son.

597 There are only four adopted children. In one case a chid was adopted because the foster parents who had an only child wanted more. In another case a girl was adopted by her mother's sister because her own children have already grown up. Two other little children whose parents had been divorced were taken over by their grandparents.

Fission of the Household

592 Since most of the households are based on a nuclear family, the
591 development of a household seems to be a kind of cycle. After children grow up, they depart from their parents' household to form their own.
[128] Table 2 shows the correlation between the mother's age and the number of children living with their parents. Adopted children are included in number.

TABLE 2 — MOTHER'S AGE AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN STAYING WITH THEIR PARENTS

Mother's Age	No. of Children										
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
16 - 20		1	1								
21 - 25	2	1	3	2							
26 - 30		2	1	1	1	2					
31 - 35					1		1	1			
36 - 40	1	1		1			1	2	1		1
41 - 45			2			1					
46 - 50			1								
51 - 55			1								
56 - 60		1		1							

When the wife's age is about from thirty six to forty years old, the number of children reaches the maximum. Then the fact that grown-up sons and daughters start separating from their home, reduces the size of the nuclear family in question. We shall examine here six examples in which we see some of the actual processes in forming new households.

14 The first son of No. 5 (thirty years old in 1962):

In 1946 he received from the Government *api tukuhau* of 8¼ acres and *api kolo* both of which had been vacant. He built a house by himself in this *api kolo* and has lived there since 1950. He parted from his parents before his marriage.

10 The third son of No. 5 (twenty seven years old in 1962):

Having no *api tukuhau*, he worked on the land of his father's mother's sister's son (22). He asked the Government to allot him the *api tukuhau* of his mother's deceased brother. In 1957 his first son was born, and in the next year he built a house in a vacant *api kolo* which has not yet been recognised as his own.

MACHIKO AOYAGI

1 The fourth son of 5 (twenty five years old in 1962):

He worked the *api tukuhau* of his wife's mother who received it from her second husband, and he resides in part of this *api tukuhau* with his wife and daughters.

17 The first son of 9 (twenty four years old in 1962):

He has neither *api tukuhau* nor *api kolo*. Before 1960 when he married, he had been working on his father's *api tukuhau*, and is now working on the *api tukuhau* of the Catholic Church. He had stayed with his parents until 1960 when the *api kolo* of his father's sister became vacant and he shifted his residence there, building his house by himself with coconut trunks and leaves given by his father.

19 The first son of 21 (twenty five years old in 1962):

Having no *api tukuhau*, he works on the land of his close friend. He received *api kolo* in 1961 from 32 who is his father's mother's brother, and built his house with materials from his father's land. His first son was born in 1960.

23 The third son of 28 (twenty six years old in 1962):

Having neither *api tukuhau* nor *api kolo*, he tills a portion of his father's land and expects that his elder brother who lives in another village will give him his *api tukuhau* located in Nukuleka. He had stayed in his father's household for a while after his marriage. Then, he and his wife moved to the house built by his elder brother in his *api kolo*.

Except for 14 and 19, the above householders have neither *api tukuhau* nor *api kolo*. To have one's own *api tukuhau* is not an indispensable condition to form an independent household, because in the Tongan way of life one can freely ask to borrow the land for cultivating from relations and friends. One can borrow even more freely *api kolo* for the purpose of building the house. Building a house is not expensive. It is easy to get from one's father, coconut trunks and leaves for pillars, roof and walls, and to build it oneself. Generally speaking, a man sets up his independent household a few years after his marriage. Based on the peculiar land system of the Kingdom and owing to the mutual aid among the relatives, the fission of a household takes place quite easily.

Supporting Old Parents

In the last phase of a family cycle an old couple or one of them will remain. However, in this village none of these old men and women keep their own households. One of their married children stays with them. There seems no rule about the person who stays at home in order to take care of the old parents.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

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TABLE 3 — CHILDREN WHO STAY AND SUPPORT THEIR PARENTS AND NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS

1st son	2	(12, 32)
1st daughter	2	(21, 22)
2nd son	2	(5, 9)
4th son	1	(20)
Step-son	1	(34)

12 and 32 are the only boys of the parents. In case of 5, 9, 21 and 22 the first son has his own household in this village, and in case of 20 three of his elder brothers live in the next village. The next table traces the present whereabouts of married sons of the eleven households including eight examples in table 3.

[128]

TABLE 4 — PRESENT WHEREABOUTS OF MARRIED SONS AND NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS

	Living in another village	Keeping an independent household in this village	Staying with his parents	Unknown
1st son	8	4	2	1
2nd son	4	1	2	1

[591] Judging from table 3 and 4, it may be generalised that the grown-up children successively start to form their own households and a son, or sometimes a daughter, depending upon the circumstances, may be selected among younger siblings to remain at home, forming a patrilocal, or matrilocal in a few instances, extended family (according to G. P. Murdock's definition). It may be the youngest child, but not always. On the other hand, the old parents, especially widow or widower, move around at will. For example, a women over seventy years of age usually resides at 34 with the son of her husband with his previous wife, but stays also at 1 with the son of her husband's brother, and also visits Nuku'alofa quite often.

Discontinuity of the Households

592 428 The Tongan law prescribes that *api tukuhau* and *api kolo* should be inherited by the eldest son of the later holder. In other words the household is to continue by means of the patriocal extended family backed with the inheritance of the land, strictly speaking, the inheritance of the usufruct 592 of the land. But in reality one tends to set up one's own household and can do so very easily, as mentioned above. People do not seem to be intent on continuing the household. A household will terminate when an old couple have no son or daughter to stay with, or when the members of a family break up on the divorce of the parents, or when an old widow [551] or widower shifts the residence to one of the children. The fact that there [428] is no important property to be inherited and no family name among

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

commoners[9] that may serve for tracing the step of family seems to discourage villagers from striving to continue their households. The inheritance rule for movable property, such as agricultural tools or domestic animals, is not fixed. They do not, anyway, seem to be important items favouring the formation of an extended family.

The Rule of Residence on Marriage

The 36 couples of the village may be classified into four groups according to place of birth.

(a)	Husband born in Nukuleka and wife born in another village	22
(b)	Husband born in another village and wife born in Nukuleka	6
(c)	Both of them were born in Nukuleka	6
(d)	Both of them were born in another village	2

In the majority of marriages either wife or husband have come from the outside. If I may now use the terms, virilocal residence when a wife comes from another village, and uxorilocal residence when a husband comes from other village, the following argument will be in order.

Since the village population is not large, few marriages are locally endogamous. The majority are virilocal; there are only six examples of uxorilocal residence, including three cases in which the husbands had lived in Nukuleka before they married. One of the three cases (21) had succeeded in acquiring *api tukuhau* and had settled in Nukuleka in his youth. The other five husbands, except one who was from Nuku'alofa, came from remote islands; two from Ha'apai, and one each from Niuaatoputapu and Vaca'u. They have *api tukuhau* neither in their home villages nor in Nukuleka. It may be guessed that it is not economically serious for them to leave behind their native place and move to their wife's village. Above all, they seem to prefer to come to Tongatapu rather than to stay in small outer islands.

Two men (classified as group d) from Vava'u had been here before they married women from another village. One, whose mother was born in this village, came here in 1943 to stay with his mother's brother and a few years later he could receive *api tukuhau* from his mother's father. The other, whose father was native to this village, came here with his parents in his childhood. Being still young and having not received *api tukuhau* yet, he cultivates his step-mother's land. Those two marriages may well be classified as virilocal. Although virilocal residence is most common, uxorilocal residence is also permissible. Whether the husband has or is likely to acquire *api tukuhau* or not seems to be important in determining the residence for a couple. In spite of the land system prescribed by the law, a large number of men have, nowadays, difficulty in getting *api tukuhau*. A man who acquired it in some way or other would not agree to leave his village upon marriage.[10]

9. At least Loka has a family name. There has been a growing habit that children going to school use a joint name of their personal and father's name. The father's name in this case is used as if it were the family name. See Koch 1965: 91.
10. Aoyagi 1964: 124-148.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
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591 166 Regarding 24 instances of virilocal marriage the following table shows the place from where the wife came.

TABLE 5 — WIFE'S NATIVE PLACE

Tongatapu	18	Fua'amotu	2
Talafo'ou	4	Ha'apai	2
Mu'a	4	Nakolo	1
Vava'u	4	Tofoa	1
Nuku'alofa	2	Ha'alalo	1
Folaha	2	Houma	1

581 Eight wives came from very near villages, Talafo'ou and Mu'a. For the villagers love seems to be a natural and strong motivation for marriage. As if to testify this, many wives are chosen from neighbouring areas. There are chances for young men to fall in love with girls from other islands who come to visit their relations in this village or vice versa. 591 166 Generaly speaking, the wives have come from near villages in the marriage of virilocal residence, while in uxorilocal residence, the husbands are from far isolated islands.

III KINSHIP ORGANISATION

Famili and Kainga

613 565 E. W. Gifford reported in his Tongan Society that "there exist today in Tonga a number of named lineages called *ha'a*."[11] but, *ha'a* are not known in this village or in other villages where I made enquiries. An old man told me that *ha'a* may be organised in the *eiki*, chief class, but not among the commoners.

192 612 Instead of *ha'a*, the term for kin group, *famili* is most commonly and *kainga* is much less commonly used.[12] The word *fa'ahinga* for kin group is seldom used. An informant explained that the original meaning of *fa'ahinga* is 'kind'. Some villagers think that *famili* and *kainga* indicate just the same social kin group, while other do not. The extension of 612 [18] *famili* and *kainga* is variously told as follows.

Man A: *Famili* includes grandparents, parents(including father's brother, mother's sister), father's sister, mother's brother, ego's brothers with their wives and children, sisters with their husbands and children, ego's children and grandchildren. *Famili* means one's near relations and *kainga* one's remote relations. Wife's parents and her siblings are not included even in *kainga*.

Man B: *Famili* members are paternal grandparents, parents (including father's brother in the village), siblings (including father's brother's children), children, grandchildren, and one's own wife. The spouses of siblings and their children are the members of *kainga*. Maternal grandparents who live in another village may be included in *kainga*. This would not change even if they happened to live in ego's village, though he does not know for certain. The parents and siblings of one's wife are also in the *kainga*.

11. Gifford 1929: 29 33.
12. For example, *kou'eiki mo kainga* (often equivalent to ladies and gentlemen or you in public speaking) is still used in daily life.

bride's mother to share the pleasure with. She was also very much pleased and gave another bark cloth to her daughter. The young couple had been staying at his parents' house until they built their own hut in the *api kolo* of his father's a few years later. Her parents eagerly wanted to bring her back for her first delivery. The first son was born under her parental roof and the new mother spent there about three months for her recuperation. On the day of its birth, her father made *umu*, including one chicken and one pig; her mother gave the baby two mats (*fala paongo* and *fala tofua*) and two sheets of bark cloth (ten *langanga* and five *langanga*); the husband's mother gave some napkins, mosquito net and cloth.

Funerals

When a husband dies, his wife, mother or brothers wash his body immediately. If the dead person is a women, her mother, sisters or mother's sisters undertake this task, and her husband may help them. Children may touch their mother, but not their father. After they rub the corpse with candle nut oil, they put on its clothes. Nowadays, a white shirt is used as an inner wear, and it is wrapped round with bark cloth called *vala lotu*, for which any kind of new bark cloth is used. Its size is not uniform; four *langanga* is enough for a child and five to eight *langanga* for an adult. This is prepared generally by those women to whom the dead stands in a near relation, namely his wife, mother, mother's sister and so on. Some bark cloths and mats are piled in the middle of the house, on which the corpse wrapped with *valu lotu* is laid. They cover the corpse again with *ngafingafi* and *kie* which is called *feta'u*. Instead of these mats a piece of white silk may be used now as a covering of a corpse.

Then, they send for a steward to lead prayer. Two or three *fahu*, that is *ilamutu*, of the dead, regardless of sex, takes seats close to the head of the dead. The seat-ordering among these *fahu* does not seem to be strict. The family members and relations of the dead sit inside the room; when the dead is a man his children and sisters are excluded from the room, and her brothers are excluded when a woman dies. After the steward finishes his prayer, people express their condolence by turns, weeping and kissing. The near relations offer *fihu* and bark cloth, and the remote relations, friends and villagers deck the centre of the room with a piece of cloth and garland. On this special occasion, the children and sisters may kiss the corpse to bid farewell to the dead man, and the brothers may do the same to the dead sister. As soon as they bid farewell, they should leave the room and rest in a temporarily built shelter. All day long people mourn and neighbours stand outdoors and sign hymns. *Liongi*, that is younger brothers, *fa'e tangata* and those who are inferior in rank to the dead person, have a lot of miscellaneous works to do, for example boiling water and serving *topai* (a kind of dumpling in soup) and tea to visitors. It is the *ulu i famili* who assigns them duties. Meanwhile, one of the *liongi* prepares *kava*, and men drink until next morning. The first cup should go to T. Leka, and the subsequent cup may go to any present *matapule*.

46: . Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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TABLE 4

Initial Residence in Motulahi of Resident Adults, by Age in 1970

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	20-29 (N=176) %	30-49 (N=223) %	50+ (N=95) %	Total (N=494) %
Local-born or immigrant before age 20	66	53	28	53
Immigrant as an adult (age 20+)	34	47	72	47
	100	100	100	100

Source: fieldwork survey.

Note: Those born in Motulahi and those who came as children are not distinguished, since in many cases there is a temporary shift of residence at childbirth, and thus children may be born somewhere other than where they are raised. (See Chapter IV).

[844]
[591]

621 than half of those who were children at that time grew up
622 in Motulahi.
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621 The influence of Sione Patu on the pattern of
622 settlement at Motulahi is also evident when we distinguish
166 among the heads of household in 1970 on the basis of how
592 it is that they first came to be living in the village.
591 (I speak of when a person 'first came to live' in a village because people seldom maintain unbroken residence in the same village.) Table 5 provides a breakdown of the male and female heads of household according to this criterion.[3] The following are mutually exclusive categories that distinguish how it is that people first came to be living in Motulahi: descended from families that were already in the village before 1900; kin to the noble who first came to Motulahi (or are descended from people who first came) in Sione Patu's time (i.e., 1900 to 1962); people who are not kin to the noble, who first came to Motulahi (or are descended from people who first came) in Sione Patu's time; first came after 1960; married in (i.e., married someone already living in Motulahi or who was already associated with Motulahi through kinship with the noble).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE]

3 A woman is the female head of the household in which her husband is the head. In effect, they are joint heads, but usually the man is spoken of as being the head because allotment registration is in his name and because his sphere of authority includes the formal representation of the household in the outside world. If there is no husband present, however, the woman is spoken of and may also legally be the head of the household.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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TABLE 5

Circumstances of Initial Residence in Motulahi of Heads of Households in 1970

Female Head of the Household	Male Head of the Household						Total Households
	Before 1900	1900 to 1962 Noble's kin	1900 to 1962 Not kin	Since 1960	Married in	No male head	
Descended from families established in Motulahi before 1900	-	-	12	-	11	1	24
Kin to the noble - family first came in Sione Fatu's time (i.e., 1900-1962)	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Not kin to the noble - family first came in Sione Fatu's time	6	-	15	-	3	1	25
First came after 1960	-	-	-	8	-	2	10
Married in to Motulahi	44	8	27	-	-	-	79
No female head of h/hold	1	1	3	-	-	-	5
Total Households	51	9	57	8	16	4	145

Source: fieldwork survey.

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621 Seventy-eight of the households in Motulahi in 1970 (54%)
622 had a male and/or female head who had first come to
166 Motulahi in Sione Fatu's time. There were only ten house-
591 holds in 1970 in which neither the male nor the female
592 head of the household had lived in Motulahi in the period that Sione Fatu was the noble (and of these households, four were established by church ministers or teachers, appointed to work in Motulahi by outside agencies).

622 Sione Fatu is generally regarded as having been not
659 only a far-seeing progressive but also benevolent in his
423 policies. A number of people told me of his benevolence with specific reference to the following circumstances: Motulahi was surveyed in 1961 (part of the first official Cadastral Survey ever undertaken in Tonga) and allotment boundaries were defined. Until the survey, not many people in Tonga had registered their residential and agricultural
622 allotments. Sione Fatu, however, encouraged people to
659 register their allotments as soon as they had been surveyed.
423
[565 This was perceived by the people who told me of it as a
425 generous concern for their security, for once an allotment
428] is registered it is beyond the power of the noble to withdraw it from the allotment-holder or withold it from
[425] his rightful heirs. His encouraging registration is regarded as doubly generous because, when he had allotted land in earlier years, he had in many cases given men considerably more than the statutory agricultural allotment

46: Decktor Korn. E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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their 'marital'-residential status (i.e., whether they are living in a couple relationship).

The difficulty of describing marital status is simple compared to the problem of describing residential movement. Tongans are as likely as not to have been raised somewhere other than the village where they are born, are likely to have moved back and forth among different villages, and may speak of themselves as not really being of or from the village in which they have maintained residence for many years. It is therefore difficult to select ethnographically meaningful categories for differentiating among the people of Motulahi with regard to their places of origin or length of residence in Motulahi. As we see in the next chapter, the elements that make such enumeration difficult are best understood in the context of the organization of household composition.

Summary

Materials presented in this chapter show that the observed configuration of any one village reflects its geographical position and the influence of local personalities as well as the effects of supralocal and historical processes. This local configuration, in turn, constitutes much of the setting within which people who live in the village must operate. Elements of local organization and the local-level adaptations of the people of Motulahi are

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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[592] [128] different ways of fulfilling certain demands upon the individuals and family groups that make up the household. The various ways of fulfilling these demands accounts for the diversity of household types. It is also the core of the explanation for fluctuations in composition [121] and changeability in household membership. This, it is clear, is a view of household structure which follows Leach's position that "social structures are sometimes best regarded as the statistical outcome of multiple individual choices rather than a direct reflection of jural rules" (1960: 124). Membership in the household allows the individual or family group access to resources that provide for culturally-defined essential needs. As the means for satisfying these needs or the needs themselves change, there are shifts in household membership. [591] Individuals and family groups may shift their place of residence, not only from village to village but sometimes from household to household within the village. Despite this fluidity, however, a Tongan household is an easily definable group at any one time with a fairly constant range of activities. These activities are primarily concerned with the production and consumption of food and are associated with the sharing of a common kitchen.[5]

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5 These elements in the definition of household activities come into play in differentiating among house-

Visitors are easily assimilated into the household. 592
Room is found for them to lay down the mattress they bring 574
with them, and they take up the domestic chores and activities appropriate to their sex and age. Most visitors [576]
bring with them a few baskets of food, as a matter of courtesy, and their relatives send occasional baskets from home if they stay on for a while. Some visits stretch into months or even years. The point at which it ceases to be only a visit is when the people involved no longer speak of it as such; when the visitors no longer feel that they might return to their previous place of residence and those with whom they are living accept this.

Whole family groups may be less than permanent 592
members of multiple-family-group households, although to 591
classify any particular family group as being only temporarily part of a household could be a distortion of the data. For example, a daughter and her children might be living in the same household as her parents' family group, with the father of the daughter's children not being a member of the household. This could occur either because he is dead, because he and she are divorced, separated, or were never married, or because he must live elsewhere to earn a living on the land or in some job while his wife and children live where the children can

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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592 take advantage of educational opportunities. In any one
591 of these cases, the daughter and her children might remain
596 in the household for a short period, or for some years, or for always, but it is difficult to predict this for any particular case. There is similar uncertainty for the anthropologist in trying to ascertain the residential future of a married couple living in the household of one of their parents. In many cases, a couple will take up residence in a parental household until such time as they can have a household of their own. Thus, in thirty-six of the forty-nine mutiple-family households in Motulahi, at least two family groups in the household were linked by ties between parent/s and son or parent/s and daughter (see Table 13). In some of these cases, the young couple are relatively recently married. They may subsequently establish a household of their own, or they may remain living with the parents until eventually they become the heads of the household.

592 The following description of a particular household
596 in Motulahi enumerated in February 1970 illustrates the
[621] fluidity of household composition in Tonga. With three constituent family groups and twice as many members as the median in Motulahi, the household is not typical. Nevertheless, this particular household exemplifies processes of household formation and changing household

592 596 composition that are common in Tonga, and it therefore serves well for purposes of illustration.

The oldest person in the household was Finau, the mother of the head male of the household, Viliami (see Figure 2). Finau's father was a Motulahi man, her mother from another village on Tongatapu, and Finau was born in [591] Motulahi. She married a man from another island and went to live there with him; her sons, Sione and Viliami, [768] were born there. Her husband died in 1917, whereupon she moved back to Motulahi with her two sons and joined her widowed father's household. She never remarried and, after her father died, she became sole head of that house- [591] hold. When her son Viliami married, he brought his wife into what was then Finau's household. His wife, 'Ana, [484] was born on another island. Her family moved to Tongatapu [873] in 1930, when she was twelve, so that her older brother could attend secondary school. They settled at Motulahi, where her mother had kin, and 'Ana had been living there ever since.

Viliami and 'Ana had seven children, ranging in age from thirty-one to sixteen, all of whom were living in Motulahi in February 1970. Only one of their children, Tomasi, was not a member of the household at that time. [591] Their son 'Aisea and his wife Lupe had lived at first in Viliami and 'Ana's household following their marriage in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191]

1966, but in 1969 they went to live with Lupe's family in another village on Tongatapu. 'Aisea quarrelled with Lupe's brothers, however, and the couple moved back to Motulahi to live with Viliami and 'Ana, bringing with them their two children and Lupe's sister's son (whom they had adopted in the informal fostering relationship known as pusi'aki). In February 1970 they had been back in Motulahi for about one month and it was indefinite how long they would be staying in the household.

The third married couple in the household, Mele and her husband Solo, had been living for a few years in their own single-family-group household in Motulahi, sharing the town allotment of her married brother Tomasi (the one who had his own household). However, about a week before I surveyed Viliami's household, a heavy rainstorm flooded Mele and Solo out of their coconut-thatched house (as it did a number of other households in the village). The couple and their four children (including one pusi'aki adopted by Mele before she was married) moved in to her parents' household until a new house was built for them four weeks later.

Matiu, another of Viliami and 'Ana's children, had also been flooded out of his house. His wife had gone to visit her parents on another island a few weeks previously, taking with her their two-year-old daughter. Matiu

592 remained in Motulahi, living alone in his house after his
596 wife left, but taking his meals in the neighboring house-
591 hold of Tomasi, his oldest brother. When he was flooded out in the rainstorm he went to live with his parents but continued to eat at his brother's house. He moved into a newly-built house about six weeks later, at which time his wife had still not returned.

Thus, of Viliami and 'Ana's children, only three unmarried children, and possibly also the married son 'Aisea and his family, could be said to be more than temporary members of the household. However, they might all move out of the household in the normal course of events in the next few years--the unmarried children when they married, and 'Aisea and his family if he should have the means to set up his own household and should choose to do so. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to say that 'Aisea's family group was only temporarily part of Viliami and 'Ana's household, for in many households the married children do not move away to establish their own household--in fact, Viliami and 'Ana themselves are an example of this. The presence of 'Aisea and his family in Viliami and 'Ana's household exemplifies a common pattern in Tonga, notwithstanding 'Aisea's aspiration to set up his own household. And even the temporary residence of Katiu and of Mele and Solo and

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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592 their children is a typically Tongan adaptation, despite
596 its irregularity from their own point of view.[6]
591

Household Economics

128 The preceding section presented the problem of the diversity and changeability of household composition in Tonga. In this section we examine the economic considerations that affect household formation and changes in household composition.

592 One of the most important considerations in deter-
591 mining whether a man and wife will establish their own household is whether such a household would be economically viable. That is not to say that a household would definitely be established in such circumstances. It could certainly not be established, however, unless the household would have access to certain essential resources: cash, human capital, and local goods. In other words, while it is said to be the custom for newly-married couples to live with the parents of the husband, my argument is that it is not custom or sentiment that causes young Tongan couples to take up residence in a parental

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6 The case of Kele and Solo offers an example of the sort of situation in which people might represent themselves to a census-taker as comprising an independent single-family household (when in fact this is not the case), because they regard their not being independent at the time of the census as a strictly temporary situation.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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591 household, but economic necessity or expediency. So far
592 as household organization is concerned, what Leach wrote
171 about the Sinhalese could apply equally well to Tonga:
591
592

> Although . . . the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the expression of social relationships, social behavior is not constrained by the prior existence of kinship corporations. It is not so much that the Sinhalese order their economic lives in accord with kinship relations as that their kinship relations are an expression of the way in which they order their economic lives (1960: 123).

592 The resources available to the Tongan household must
611 be sufficient to provide for three types of expenditures: expenditures for everyday material needs, periodic cash outlays, and contributions on ceremonial occasions.

The everyday material needs of a household on Tongatapu consist mainly of foodstuffs and fuel, plus petty cash for items such as bus fares, matches, and soap. Foodstuffs and fuel are derived mainly from locally-cultivated
262 subsistence products. A lot of tuberous vegetables are
264 eaten--about one pound per person per day. A typical everyday main meal consists of haka (a pot of boiled sweet-potato, manioc, yam, plantain, taro, or breadfruit--according to what is available on a seasonal or daily basis) plus a small amount of kiki ('relish'--i.e., some form of animal meat), or a stew (supo) made of the same ingredients. A modest morning or evening meal might consist only of cold leftovers or, in the morning, tōpai (a thick porridge of flour and water) and cocoa to drink. Kiki for the main

592 what is ideal is a three-generation household headed by
596 the senior members, while a young man is less likely to
554 speak of a three-generation household as being desirable. However, both would agree that the preferred household is one in which I, the speaker, am the head.

591 If a family group is not able to be independent, an
592 older couple or older individual generally prefers to move
596 in with their daughter or other female relative, who is more likely to be welcoming and will take better care of them than their sons's wife would. Among younger couples who are not able to be independent, a woman prefers to be in a household with her parents or other relatives, while a man prefers to bring his family to live with his parents or other relatives. The matter is usually settled by factors other than these considerations, however; mainly, where--which island and village--they need or wish to be located, and which (if any) of the relatives there can accomodate them. Factors such as the relative availability of access to land, schooling for the children, and prospects for satisfactory social recognition (including the question of household status) affect choice of location. In other words, factors besides simple elements of kinship usually determine the location and composition of the household in which people live.

Where the preceding considerations are not decisive,

591 the choice between membership in a household with the
592 wife's or the husband's relatives primarily reflects the
596 quality of the relationships between the husband and wife and between the wife and her in-laws. According to some informants, Tongans subscribe to the ideal that a woman should agree to live with her husband's people, whether in their household or in a separate household in their village. To do so is called "fālute" ('to include or unite') and is said to be admirable; in foregoing living with her own kin, a wife is said to hold together her husband and his kin. In return, if members of the husband's family wish to make any request of him, they should do so through his wife. This shows that they toka'i her ('have respect for her and consider her feelings'). According to my informants, however, very few women are truly fālute. Most women wish to be with their own kin and try to draw their husbands in that direction, it is said, thereby breaking up the group of fraternal siblings. And this is said even of women who live with their husband's kin, away from their own people.

To live in the household of one's in-laws is a difficult situation, difficult in different ways for a man or a woman. A woman is far more involved in quotidian domestic activities than a man is. Thus, when a couple moves in with the wife's people, the husband may well feel that he has little useful place in the household--which is

591 not the case when a woman is living with her husband's
592 people. On the other hand, precisely because of the
596 greater interaction, the wife is constantly exposed to the critical gaze of her husband's relatives, and especially his mother. This is mitigated to some extent if they establish their own household rather than living in the household of his parents, but a young wife is still likely to feel very lonely if she does not have kin of her own nearby.

Most new households are established by local men; that is, the man and wife set up household in the husband's
[166] village. Less than 12 percent of the male heads of
[621] household in 1970 came to Motulahi through marriage to a local woman (see Table 5), and in 75 percent of the households in Motulahi the male head of the household had lived in the village for some time before he was married. A man generally has a better chance of being allocated an allotment where he is known and where his kin can exert pressure and assist him in acquiring land in his own name. At the very least, if they are not successful in getting him his own residential allotment, he might set up his own household on his parent's land. More important, a man's kin are more likely than his wife's kin to provide him with access to the agricultural resources essential for a household of his own.

591 If a young couple does not have the means to
592 establish and maintain a household of their own, they
596 almost inevitably reside at first in a common household with the husband's people. At this time the young wife is under constant scrutiny and must act as demurely as possible. She is likely to go home to her parents for the birth of the first child, however, and may stay there for a few weeks or a few months, ostensibly so that her mother can help her in taking care of the baby. Usually, her husband comes with her, or is at her parents' home for part of the period, moving back and forth between his people and hers. They may move back to live with his people, but at each birth she has an excuse for moving to her parents' home, taking the children with her and going for a few months before the birth and staying for a few months after. Eventually, if they do not establish their own household, they may end up remaining with the wife's people. Many of the multiple-family-group households in Motulahi based on the parent/s-daughter tie came about in this way (see Table 13). This outcome is especially likely if the husband has no reasonable expectation of inheriting an agricultural allotment of his own. If he had such expectations, the wife might have been willing to tolerate remaining in his kin's household until they were able to establish one of their own.

582 formal requirement that both members of a couple belong
794 to the same denomination. Nevertheless, a person's status
795 as a worthy member of the congregation is based in part on his/her spouse's participation in congregational activities and the children's induction into the church through Sunday School, and in this sense it is necessary that both members of the couple belong to the same denomi-
582 nation. In almost all cases, it is the woman who switches
794 to her husband's denomination, rather than the other way
795 around. This reflects the fact that it is more difficult
562 for a man to establish his status as a full member of a
554 church than it is for a woman, and that church membership is a more important status-defining attribute for men
[612] than it is for women. Most men's foremost reference group, outside their own household, is the congregation of their church, whereas the comparable reference group for most
[591] women is the local kin group. Thus, we find eleven cases in Motulahi in which, it seems, each spouse has conceded that which is less important: the couple resides in the wife's village but are members of the husband's denomination. (In this regard it is interesting to note that formal status in the church, such as membership in the
582 kau malanga, is not affected by shifts of residence.) I
794 know of only one case, not involving residents of Motulahi,
795 where the couple did not get married because neither of

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Whole family groups may be less than permanent members of multiple-family households, although to classify any particular family unit as being only temporarily part of a household could be a distortion of the data. For example, a daughter and her children may be living in the same household as her parents' family group, with the father of the daughter's children not being a member of the household. This may occur either because he is dead, because he and she are divorced, separated, or were never married, or because he must live elsewhere to earn a living while his wife and children live in Motulahi so that the children can take advantage of educational opportunities on the main island. In any one of these cases, the daughter and her children might remain in the household for a short period, or for some years, or for always, but it is difficult to predict with certainty for any particular case. There is similar uncertainty for the anthropologist in trying to determine the permanence of a married couple living in the household of one of their parents. In many cases, a couple will take up residence in a parental household until such time as they can have a household of their own. (In some of these cases, the couple are but recently married; it is said to be the custom in Tonga—although it is a custom not always followed—for a newly married couple to live with the parents of the husband until the birth of the first child.) The couple may subsequently establish a household of their own, or they may remain living with the parents of one until eventually they become the heads of the household.

VILIAMI'S HOUSEHOLD

The following description of a particular household in Motulahi illustrates the fluidity of household composition. With three constituent family units, the household is not typical (but, as has already been demonstrated, there are far too many "types" for any one household to be typical). The household is unusual in that it has twice as many members as the medium in Motulahi (see Fig. 1). Nevertheless, this particular household exemplifies many of the processes of household formation that are common in Tonga, and for this reason it will serve here as an illustration.

The oldest person in the household is Finau, the mother of the head male of the household, Viliami (see Fig. 2).[7] Finau's father was a Motulahi man, her mother from another village on Tongatapu, and Finau was born in Motulahi. Upon marrying a man from another island, she moved there, where her sons Sione and Viliami were born. Her husband died in 1917, whereupon she moved back to Motulahi with her two sons and joined her widowed father's household. She never

7 These are not the true names of the people involved. All other data in the description are factual.

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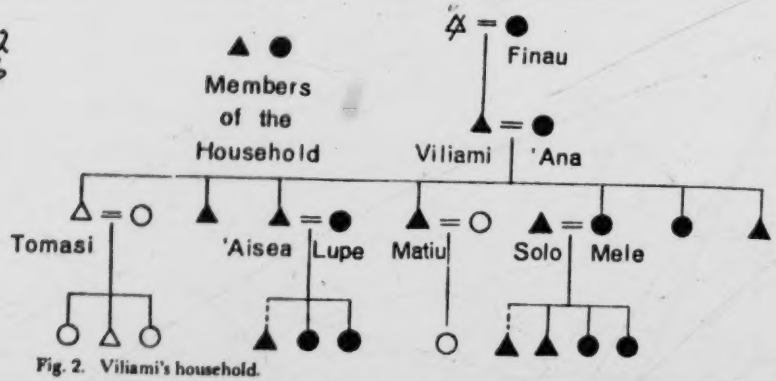

Fig. 2. Viliami's household.

remarried, and, after her father died, she became head of that household. When her son Viliami married, he brought his wife 'Ana into what was then Finau's household. 'Ana was born on another island. Her family moved to Tongatapu in 1930 when she was 12 so that her older brother could attend secondary school. They settled in Motulahi, where her mother had kin, and 'Ana had been living there ever since.

Viliami and 'Ana have seven children, ranging in age from 31 to 16, all of whom are living in Motulahi. (These data are based on the ethnographic records of February 1970, when I took the census of village households.) Only one of their children, Tomasi, is not a member of the household. Their son 'Aisea and his wife Lupe had lived at first in Viliami and 'Ana's household following their marriage in 1966, but then, in 1969, they went to live with Lupe's family in another village in Tongatapu. 'Aisea quarreled with Lupe's brothers, however, and the couple moved back to Motulahi to live with Viliami and 'Ana, together with their two children and Lupe's sister's son (adopted in the informal fostering relationship known as *pusi'aki*). At the time of the household census they had been back in the household for about one month, and it was indefinite how long they would be staying.

The third married couple in the household, Mele and her husband Solo, had been living for a few years in their own single-family-unit household in Motulahi, sharing the residential plot of her married brother Tomasi (the one who has his own household). About a week before the census, however, a heavy rainstorm flooded Mele and Solo out of their coconut-thatched house, as it did a number of other households in the village. The couple and their four children (including one *pusi'aki* adopted by Mele before she was married) moved in to her parents' household until a new house was built for them four weeks later.

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Matiu, another of Viliami and 'Ana's children, had also been flooded out of his house. His wife had gone to visit her parents on another island a few weeks previously, taking with her their 2-year-old daughter. Matiu remained in Motulahi, living alone in his house after his wife left, but taking his meals in the neighboring household of Tomasi, his oldest brother. After he was flooded out in the rainstorm, he came to live with his parents but continued to eat at his brother's house. He moved in to a newly built house about six weeks later, at which time his wife had still not returned.

Thus, of Viliami and 'Ana's children, only three unmarried children, and possibly also the married son 'Aisea and his family, could be said to be more than temporary members of the household. However, they might all move out of the household in the normal course of events within the next few years: the unmarried children when they marry, and 'Aisea and his family if he has the means to set up his own household and chooses to do so. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to say that 'Aisea's family group is only temporarily part of Viliami and 'Ana's household, for in many households the married children did not move away to establish their own households—in fact, Viliami and 'Ana themselves are an example of this. The presence of 'Aisea and his family in Viliami and 'Ana's household can be seen as part of a common pattern in Tonga, notwithstanding 'Aisea's aspiration to set up his own household. And even the temporary residence of Matiu and of Mele and Solo and their children is a typically Tongan adaptation, despite its irregularity from their own point of view.[8]

CRITERIA OF ECONOMIC VIABILITY

One of the most important considerations in determining whether a man and wife will establish their own household is whether such a household would be economically viable. That is not to say that a household would definitely be established in such circumstances. It could certainly not be established, however, unless the household would have access to certain essential resources: cash, human capital, and local goods. In other words, while it is said to be the custom for newly married couples to live with the parents of the husband, my argument is that it is not custom or sentiment that causes young Tongan couples to take up residence in a parental household, but economic expediency. So far as household organization is concerned, what Leach has written about the Sinhalese could equally apply to Tonga:

8 In footnote 3, it was suggested that some of the people participating in the census of 1966 might have represented their family groups as comprising independent single-family-unit households, when in fact they were not, because they regarded their not being independent households as a temporary situation. Viliami's household offers instances of this situation.

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In short, a man and wife will seek to establish their own household as soon as they can, wherever it might be. The proof of this is that in Motulahi, where there were 150 married couples, I found only two multiple-family households in which both the family unit of the head of the household and the subordinate family unit could be viable on their own. In both cases, the link between the family groups was between parents and son, and it should be noted that one of these households was headed by the village noble, and the other by the man who was next highest on the traditional scale of rank. Both were among the five men who were by far the richest in the village (the three other men did not have adult children). In other words, it is possible that their fathers' special positions may account for why the sons lived in extended family households when they could have afforded to set up house on their own.

In addition, there were some multiple-family households in which one family unit in the household could be economically independent, while the other(s) would not be viable. In such cases, it is clear why the dependent family unit is a member of an extended household. As for the self-sufficient family unit, the extension of the household is a matter of prestige, quite aside from any question of sentiment or obligation, for the larger a household (measured especially in terms of adult dependents), the greater the authority of the head. This authority applies not only within the household but also beyond it, since the head of a large household controls more labor for community enterprises than do other heads of households.

Thus, a couple will make an effort first to establish their own household. Once they have succeeded in this, they will try to attract other people to join their household (provided they are capable of supporting dependents). Against this, however, others will be seeking to establish households of their own, and this puts a limit on the ability to attract and retain dependents.

We are now in a position to understand what lies behind the statement that was made earlier in this paper: that there is no consensus among Tongans on what composition constitutes the ideal household. An older man may say that the ideal household is a three-generation household headed by the senior members, while a young man is unlikely to make such a statement. However, as mentioned earlier, both would agree that the ideal household is one in which I, the speaker, am in a position to be the head.

If a family unit is not able to be independent, an older couple or older individual generally prefers to move in with their daughter or other female relative, who is more likely to be welcoming and will take better care of them than their son's wife would. Among younger couples who are not able to be independent, a woman prefers to be in a

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household with her parents or other relatives, while a man prefers to bring his family to live with his parents or other relatives. The matter is usually settled by factors other than these considerations, however: mainly, where it is (which island and village) that they need or wish to be located, and which of the relatives is capable of having them. In other words, factors other than the simple elements of kinship relationships usually determine the location and composition of the household in which people live.

Where there is an equal possibility of living in a household with the wife's or the husband's relatives, the choice primarily reflects the quality of relationships between the husband and the wife and between the wife and her in-laws. To live in the household of one's in-laws is a difficult situation, difficult in different ways for a man and a woman. A woman is far more involved in domestic activities than a man. Thus, when a couple moves in with the wife's people, the husband may well feel that he has little useful place as a stranger in the household—which is not the situation when a woman is living with her husband's people. On the other hand, precisely because of the greater interaction, the wife is constantly exposed to the critical view of her husband's relatives. Ideally, a woman should agree to live where her husband's people are, whether in their household or in a separate household in their village. And indeed, most new households are established by local men—that is, the man and wife set up their own household in the husband's village, since a man generally has more chance of being allocated a residential plot in his parents' village, where he is known and where his kin can exert pressure and assist him in acquiring land in his own name. At the very least, if they are not successful in getting him his own residential plot, he might set up his own household on his parents' land.

If a young couple does not have the means to establish and maintain a household, they almost inevitably reside at first in a common household with the husband's people. At this time, the young wife is under constant scrutiny and must act as demurely as possible. She usually goes home to her parents for the birth of the first child, however, and often stays there for a few weeks or months, ostensibly so that her mother can help her in taking care of the baby. Usually, her husband comes with her, or is at her parents' home for part of the period, moving back and forth between his people and hers. They may move back to live with his people, but at each birth she has the excuse of moving to her parents' home, taking the children with her and going for a few months before the birth and staying for a few months after. Eventually, if they do not establish their own household, they may, in the end, remain with the wife's people. (This is especially likely if the husband has no expectation of inheriting an agricultural allotment, since that

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would have provided a material basis for establishing their own household someday.) Many of the three-generation households that are based on the parents-daughter link between family units evolved in this way, even though such a household is in many respects far from the cultural ideal.

DISCUSSION: OPTIONS AND OPTATION

It has been my argument that household composition in Tonga is to be accounted for not as the expression of norms regarding kinship, but rather as the outcome of individuals' pursuit of prestige within the limitations of their social position and the resources available to them.[14] This is a dynamic process; as their needs and resources change, people are able to shift their household arrangements. Thus the patterning of household composition in Tonga is better regarded "as the statistical outcome of multiple individual choices rather than a direct reflection of jural rules" (Leach 1960:124).

Keesing (1967) has pointed out, however, that statistical description is difficult when variations in composition are extreme (a problem that was noted early in this paper), and that statistical outcomes themselves may vary widely under differing conditions (another point that applies to the statistical description of household composition in Tonga). He argues further that a model of the principles whereby decisions are made is more revealing than a statistical model, as well as being more powerful in accounting for the range of empirical data. A recent review article, which describes this approach as "the analysis of social structure in terms of the options open to members of a society," concludes that "decision models provide a new and convincing way to think about social structural variability" (Quinn 1975:22, 43).[15]

In this paper, I have presented a description of the processes of household formation in Tonga and the dynamics of fluctuations in household membership. The description specifies the criteria that enable us to predict whether a couple or individual are likely to establish a household of which he and/or she would be the head. More importantly, it provides an explanation that accounts retrodictively for

14 Of course, not only norms regarding kinship, but also the pursuit of prestige and the nature of the limitations upon it, are culturally conditioned.

15 Except for reservations regarding the meaning of terms like "alternative courses" and "decisions," I would follow Keesing (1967) in conceiving "decision model" to denote "an ethnographic description that is actor-oriented and based on the categories of the culture under study," and whose minimal properties are

> . . . that it (1) defines the situation or context in a culturally meaningful way; (2) defines the range of culturally acceptable alternative courses of action in the situation; and provides either (3) a set of rules for making appropriate decisions under culturally possible combinations of circumstances, i.e., a model with determinate outcomes, or (4) a set of strategies for deciding among alternatives, i.e., a value-maximization model (Keesing 1967:2).

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the composition of any one household. This account might be called a "decision model," but I prefer to call it a "description" since it lacks the simplicity and elegance that I consider essential features of a model. In the description, I have tried to show how the statistical picture of household composition may be understood as the outcome of people's decisions in matters relating to household membership. However, I have not attempted to indicate a formal ordering of the principles for making decisions, since this would imply that people's priorities in making decisions could be understood apart from the circumstances under which actual decisions are made.

At this point, I wish to raise the question of the extent to which it is proper to use works like "option," "alternative," "decision," and "choice" in describing the diverse behavior of different people in a society.[16] A number of points emerge from consideration of this question.

First, in talking about optative features of social organization, one must be careful not to misrepresent the sense in which an individual can be said to have made a choice. For example, when the head of a household in Tonga accepts another family group or attached individual into his household, he is choosing a particular stratagem in his quest for prestige (for there are other ways in which he might have deployed his resources). Although there is a question here of whether it is proper to use the word "choice" in describing the move that his new dependents have made, there is no question that the head of the household has made a choice that affects the structure and composition of this household. Nevertheless, the composition of the household was not the focus or objective of his decision making. In other words, it is one thing to say that household composition in Tonga is optative and that the patterning of household structure is the outcome of multiple individual choices, and it is quite another thing to say that in Tonga people choose the composition of the household in which they live. Household composition is usually a by-product of other decisions, and in that sense it is a dependent element, not something that is deliberately chosen.

Second, the kind of thinking that goes into a Tongan man's deciding to live in a particular village could be called "choosing" when he has a range of live options regarding the village in which he might live. In such cases, the choice of village is generally made on the basis of his weighing such factors as the relative availability of access to land, schooling for the children, and prospects for satisfactory social recognition—including the question of household status—in one village rather

16 This section of the paper reflects the influence on my thinking of the approach and philosophical techniques known as "ordinary-language" philosophy.

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than another. It should be noted, however, that it is unlikely that he would have more than a few villages from which to choose. In other words, the range of options that a person may have is usually less than the number of alternatives that are theoretically possible.

Third, once the decision regarding village of residence is made, the kind of household that a man sets up or enters is not always a matter of choice. The point here is that it is essential that we clearly understand what is meant in saying that a person "adopts" (or "chooses" or "opts for") an "alternative." We may well recognize that there are a number of different ways in which Tongan households are structured, and that there are no rules that specify household affiliation. We might therefore be inclined to say that the individual makes a choice regarding the household that he sets up or enters. But can we really say that a social system presents all men with the alternative of eating caviar, and that a poor man chooses instead to eat clam dip? I would argue that caviar is not a viable option for the poor man, and therefore that it is nonsense to speak of it being a matter of choice. Similarly, I would argue that a Tongan man without any other access to the means of providing for the material needs of his family is not making a choice when he decides to move in with a relative, for he has no real alternative.[17] Thus, in constructing decision models of social structure, it is essential that we distinguish between recognition by an observer that there is a set of various arrangements which are possible in that society, and whether, in fact, there is a range of alternatives open to a person who must act in a given situation. In other words, it does not follow from the fact that an element of social organization is optative that a person is in a position to make a real choice.

Finally, there is a more general point that underlies the preceding one: there is a difference between "making a decision" and "making a choice."[18] For example, when a young Tongan couple marries, they have to make a decision about where they are going to live, for it is not something that is prescribed. Nevertheless, after considering which arrangements (of all the various arrangements that are possible in the society) are available in their situation, it is quite likely that they might come to the conclusion that they have only one live option. Thus, even if a decision is required in a certain situation, there may be no choice—no real choice is made in a situation of "only one choice."

17 In theory, of course, he could choose to abandon his family or choose that they should live as scavengers, but those are definitely not culturally acceptable courses of action in that situation.

18 This distinction is not recognized by Quinn, it seems. What she argues is that "the terms 'decision' and 'choice' are perhaps best reserved for selection among alternatives which requires some active evaluation and calculation on the part of the individual actor" (1975:41). She says nothing of any distinction between the terms, nor do Howard and Ortiz in their paper (1971) on the value of decision-making analysis for the anthropological study of social process.

123 Secondly, at the International Night program during the Conference, although there were 15 in the Hawaiian delegation, only two of us performed for Hawaii. We did five Hawaiian hulas and I thus became known as an authority on Hawaiian dance (which I am not) and thus it was only natural that I would be interested in Tongan dance.

Thirdly, the conference had small discussion groups including individuals from all the countries represented. As leader of one discussion group I became acquainted with the Tongans of the group. One of these Tongan women subsequently introduced me to a family of 'dance specialists,' and they became some of my best informants.

[121] During my first period of fieldwork in Tonga, from August to November 1964, I lived with a Tongan family that was atypical in many ways. The house 'belonged' to the grandmother (residence in Tonga is [591] ideally patrilocal) who was of chiefly birth. Although her husband had traveled and had wealth, his rank was lower than hers. Their oldest son, who was a representative in parliament, his wife and their seven children lived there. Their two unmarried sons lived there, but their unmarried daughter did not, nor did their other married children. The mother and father of the eldest son's wife were also part of the household, although they slept, with some of the children, in a small sleeping house adjacent to the main house. There were always at least five, and usually more, other related or unrelated individuals in the house for various reasons. In addition, a family of

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674 and during the same period over 11,000 will join the labour force. Young people at school are already asking for what am I being educated? It is hard to give a truthful answer. Thousands of young people live in and around Nuku'alofa. Many of these young people have left both schools and home. They have exchanged a life of the home and school for a life of the youth group and gang. They live off the land, raiding 'apis, breaking into many homes for food, clothing and money."[21]

369 Other pressures have resulted in diminished respect towards nobles, less formal modes of courtship and changes in dress and diet. But none of these are clear cut urban-rural differences and most of them affect only sections of the population. What is most significant about Nuku'alofa is not that there are differences compared with the countryside, but that these differences are so few. Whether this is because the town is so little urbanised or whether this represents a successful readaption of cherished Tongan values is not yet clear. What is clear is that basic Tongan attitudes and patterns of life remain very little changed in the town context.

the rural migrants

166 No small part of the unlawfulness referred to above can be traced to the large influx of migrants from Tonga's other islands and from the rural villages of Tongatapu (see Fig. 1). This migration is not new but there are very definite signs that, whereas the movement was once primarily towards rural Tongatapu where land was available, movement in the last ten years can more accurately be termed an "urban drift" to Nuku'alofa. The general causes of such movements are well known and need not concern us here. One aspect, however, is of special importance: many of Nuku'alofa's in-migrants are not visiting the town for the first time. Some four-fifths of those interviewed and who were in paid employment in Nuku'alofa had been to secondary schools in Tongatapu. The proportion is not likely to be as high for those not in paid employment but it is certain to remain significant.

591 If the migrant is arriving in Nuku'alofa or returning after
592 attending school, he usually gravitates to his relations and frequent-
591 ly he has neither money, land nor employment. He lives with them
592 until he builds a separate home which may well be on their 'api. It
423 is their 'api tukuhau that he uses (see Table III) and it is usually through them that he enquires about the use of another 'api or the registration of one of his own though, if he is single, he may wait
582 until he marries. If he marries into a local family his chances of acquiring an 'api are considerably enhanced. Some two-thirds of those interviewed in Nuku'alofa had married into local families and

half of these were sharing 'api tukuhau with their in-laws.

The migrant appears welcome to stay in the local household as long as he wishes and it is not unusual for him to do so for several years. There is rarely any question of payment for board or for the use of 'api kolo or 'api tukuhau though by mutual, unspoken understanding the migrant will supply a share of the food or contribute in other ways towards family expenses. Even when it is possible to live elsewhere and so avoid kin obligations, few choose to do so.

Table III

The Migrant and Access to Land, 1963-4

	Migrants[a] %	Total Household Questionnaire %
Registered 'Api Kolo	38	57
Registered 'Api Tukuhau in Tongatapu	18	49
Registered 'Api Tukuhau elsewhere[b]	13	6
Sharing 'Api Tukuhau	42	25
No use of 'Api Tukuhau	27	20
No use of 'Api Tukuhau in Tongatapu	40	31
Number in Sample	74	107

[a] Based on Employment and Household Questionnaires.

[b] Application for an 'api in Tongatapu requires a previous cancellation of titles elsewhere.

The hierarchy of Tongan family relations is such that a young relative tends to feel more relaxed with close relations on his mother's side (fa'e tangata). These relations are under some obligation to him whereas he is obligated to his father's eldest sister (mehekitanga) and to a lesser extent to all his father's relations. It is natural, then, that a migrant will endeavour to stay with his mother's people. As one informant put it, "You feel closer to your mother's side because you are above them."

It is significant that few migrants considered they had any special problems of adjustment on arrival. The strength and importance of kin ties in this pattern of chain migration is best seen in the migrants' own comments:

"I had relations here. The burden was easier."
"I had no problems because my elder brother was here."

593 562 (603) attempting to reverse the sex role of a girl; only small boys are treated in this manner. Mothers and grandmothers are likely the persons who initiate a reversal in sex roles.

Matakali: A Residence Group

591 The residence pattern of Tongan villagers is such that after marriage a man usually remains in the village of his father, and a women moves to her husband's village if she resided elsewhere before marriage. Virilocality is the preferred form and the dominant form of post-marital residence. However, exceptions to this pattern are quite common, primarily because of economic factors. Considerations such as land availability, opportunities for wage labor, and access to health care and educational services frequently override the preference for virilocal residence. A sample of all married persons in Puke revealed that twenty-four couples were residing virilocally, seven uxorilocally, and twelve were following a neolocal pattern. This residence pattern helps account for the "loose" membership characteristics of the Tongan residence group, matakali. 591 613

Gifford (1929: 38-39) briefly discusses matakali and suggests that the term was borrowed from Fiji where the cognate form is matanggali. Although Gifford has little information his data do suggest that residence is important in defining matakali. Matakali in Puke are defined by residence and consanguinity. Matakali group households of the same village under an 'ulumotu'a 'headman'. In each constituent household either the household head, or the spouse of the household head, is a 591 592 613

591 consanguine of the headman.
592
613 The definition of matakali also has an historical dimension which requires an association of ancestors of the present headman with the village. There are four recognized matakali in Puke and twenty-two of the village households are recognized members of matakali. The other households are not considered to be matakali members. Persons in this latter category are not considered real citizens of the village; they have no history there and are thought to be likely to move to another village. This criterion of history is not dependent on the length of an individual's residence in the village, but rather on his relationship to a headman who does have ancestors historically associated with the locale.

613 The two largest and politically strongest matakali in Puke both have long histories of association with the village. For both cases ancestors of the current headmen can be traced back several generations.

[964] Each of these matakali has its own graveyard and a third graveyard serves for all other members of the community.

[971] The corporateness of the Tongan matakali would have to be described as weak when compared to other Polynesian residence groups such as the puikaainga described for the Ellice (Brady 1970: 65-74). Corporateness of the matakali is built on (1) recognition of the group by both members and non-members, (2) periodic functioning as a unit or resource management and collection, and (3) recognition of the headman as a leader, organizer, and advisor by the group's constituents.

So the matakali can be described as a weak corporate group in

Summary

128 In this chapter I did not attempt a full description of Tongan social organization as a large amount of material on that topic is already available. I did attempt to outline those aspects of Tongan kinship that have implication for the study of kinship reciprocity. The exact relationship between kinship and exchange will be presented as the conscious model of kinship reciprocity in Chapter VI.

612 The important points presented in this chapter are that each individual possesses a personal kindred, kāinga, with each individual in the kindred ranked relative to ego. This relative ranking is the basis 592 of the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Also, each individual 593 is a member of a household within which relationships are characterized by a strong definition of the rights and duties of each household member. 613 Some households are grouped together in larger residential units, [592] matakali. Matakli are based on a membership with consanguineal links [591] to a headman; these links are usually agnatic but not necessarily so. The corporate character of this group is weak, and headmen have little power with which to coerce their matakali members.

565 Most commoners are not members of the named rammages or lineages 613 (ha'a) and consequently have little interest in or knowledge of ha'a. Ha'a are the institutions through which titles and estates are claimed and only function in regard to those factors. Commoners are, however, affiliated with a certain noble by virtue of their residence on his [571] estate. The relationship between noble and villager is better characterized as that of "landlord-tenant" than one of kinship.

597 presently practiced in Tonga: ohi, the adoption of non-kinsmen, and pusiaki, the adoption of kinsmen. Pusiaki literally means 'to rear a child away from its mother' (Churchward 1959: 424). Ohi also has a broader meaning and is used to describe human nurturance of young animals. For the adoptee ohi represents a more complete break with his biological parents simply because his adopted parents are not kinsmen and, consequently, less likely to have frequent contact with the biological parents.

A conservative estimate of the proportion of pusiaki to ohi would be about forty to one. In Malapo wherean exhaustive sample of households revealed eighty-one cases of adoption, two were ohi type adoptions. (128) The remainder of this chapter will deal primarily with pusiaki, and the term "adoption" will be used as the gloss of pusiaki.

Beliefs and Motives

597 An analysis of adoption circumstances reveals two basic patterns.
591 each identifiable with a phase in the household cycle. An initial
592 phase is characterized by a man and wife residing with a kinsman of either and being dependent upon that person for housing and perhaps land and food. This phase frequently ends with the birth of the first child and the subsequent establishment of an independent household.

592 The next period is the young household phase characterized by the bear-
597 ing and rearing of children and the maintenance of an independent household. A third phase, the mature family, is marked by the cessation of child bearing, maturing children, and frequently the presence of depen-

592 597 dent families or individuals. The last phase is the declining household with no or few children present and an increasing reliance upon other households for subsistence needs.

By using adopting mothers' ages as a rough indicator, it was found that adoptions tend to cluster at two points in the household phase, and the adopting mothers averaged about thirty-six years of age. The second cluster occurs in the declining household phase with adopting mothers having an average age of about sixty-four (See Table 9). A A

597 591 885 [581] The motivations for young family adoptions are closely connected with achieving adult status. For Tongans, marriage is not a final step in attaining adult status. Many young couples begin married life by taking up residence with consanguines of either the bride or the groom. During the next few months or years the couple remains dependent on the household head and his wife. How long this period of dependency lasts [602] depends on several factors including the husband's success at finding land or a wage-labor job, how friendly the relationship with the host family remains, and the grouwth of the new family. This period often ends at about the time the first child is born, by the couple establishing a separate household. Although recognition as an adult does not come abruptly, bearing a child and assuming the responsibility for its care is an important step. Because of the importance of having and caring for children in attaining adult status, young couples usually become prospective adopters if they are unable to have children of their own.

597 885 851

A A [See p. 62--Analyst]

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

fertile loamy to clayey soil, termed *kelefatu* by Tongans, which covers most of Tongatapu and Vava'u and much of Ha'apai. The other significant type, *tou'one*, is a sandy and less fertile soil found at low elevations near the sea, particularly in Ha'apai where it influences the pattern of land division. On Ha'afeva (see Figure 1)[A] for example, most landholders have their holding in two separate roughly two-acre sections, one of *kelefatu* and one of *tou'one*. Elsewhere in the raised limestone islands local variations in land quality are not sufficient to affect land tenure.

TRADITIONAL LAND TENURE

The evidence so far available on the pre-contact landholding system in Tonga is inadequate and sometimes conflicting, and much research remains to be done. The basic unit of society was the household or *'api*, which generally consisted of a married couple, their unmarried children, any married sons with their families, and perhaps one or more other relatives. Descent was usually, but not exclusively, patrilineal, and a number of households whose members considered themselves to be related by descent through males from a common ancestor formed a lineage or *fa'ahinga*.[2] The *fa'ahinga* was headed by an *'ulumotu'a*, who usually held an hereditary title as *matapule*, *foha* or *tehina*[3] to the chief. Since membership of the *fa'ahinga* was generally reckoned through the father, and since residence on marriage was usually with the parents of the husband, members of the *fa'ahinga* lived mostly in one area.

Several *fa'ahinga* together formed the group subject to the authority and control of a chief. One of these *fa'ahinga* was the lineage of the chief himself. Some or all of the others were believed to be related to him by descent from a common ancestor, but some were founded by outsiders who attached themselves to a chief, often as *matapule* (Gifford 1929:140-1). A group of related titled chiefs formed a *ha'a* and claimed to be connected by descent from a common ancestor. The *ha'a* was partly a kinship group in that its chiefs considered themselves to be related to each other and to most of the people under them, but it also had the character of 'a political association of people around a lineage core' (Nayacakalou 1959:95). On Tongatapu the *ha'a* formed rough but not completely exclusive territorial units.

The broad features of this social structure were reflected in the land tenure system, but interpretations of the available evidence differ in some significant aspects. Some writers suggest

A [See Category 423, p. 109--Analyst.]

601 612 red are kainga and famili. The term famili seems to be a more exclusive term and refers more to consanguineal ties, whereas kainga, the term which is used in this description of kinship relations, has a broader connotation and generally includes affines (non-blood relations), such as brothers and sisters-in-law or adopted children .

602 592 612 592 An individual's ties with his kinsmen are operative on two levels: within the household and within the broader extended family or kainga. The Tongan household, generally referred to as an 'api (an allotment of land), is the basic social and economic unit. It can be defined as a group of 591 individuals working, eating, and sleeping together. Residence is primarily patrilocal, with the wife moving to the husband's village, although there are numerous cases of matrilocal or neolocal residence.

592 [596] [594] [178] In the past, most households were composed of extended families; however, at present the trend is more toward nuclear families, comprised of a man and wife and their real and/or adopted children. Many households also include unmarried brothers or sisters, a parent, or even a friend or relative from another village or island group. As of the 1966 census, the mean household size for Tongatapu was 6.9 persons. The larger unit, the kainga, not only includes the individual household, but also those bilateral kindred who reside in other households, villages, or island groups. The size of this broader kindred group, and closeness of ties

612 [602] [184]

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

the national census. Rather, the point I wish to emphasize is that an ethnographer is generally in far the best position to provide data whose quality and accuracy are such that they may constitute a special contribution: first, by providing a check on the quality and accuracy of data collected by means of conventional censusing, and second, by facilitating demographic analyses that are either not possible or not feasible in the analysis of the conventionally-derived census.

As to the first contribution—providing a check on the quality and accuracy of data collected by means of conventional censusing—I shall give an example from Tongan data relating to migration.

Since Tonga is a country of many small islands, slight shifts of population may have important consequences and therefore migration is a matter of considerable interest. In the words of the Census Officer for the 1966 census,

> "It will be proposed throughout this Report that the Tongan population has become mobile, both internally and externally ... The movement of people between the islands especially to Tongatapu, has reached a stage where governmental intervention in the supervision and planning of these migrations is urgently required." (Fiefia 1968: 11.)

Clearly, the Tongan government would like to have information about migration. However, as the following discussion shows, the notion of migration is not culturally neutral and the problem is how data on 'migration' are to be obtained.

In the national census reports, both for 1956 and 1966, there is a comparison between place of birth and place of enumeration. The difficulty with this is that while such a comparison tells us something about population movement, it cannot be taken to be very informative about the rate and direction of migration. This is because in Tonga, particularly in the early years of a marriage until a couple establishes their own household, there is a great deal of movement back and forth between the wife's kin and the husband's kin. A child may be born at the home of one set of grandparents, live for some time at the home of another set (where some siblings may be born), and grow up at a third place where the parents have established their own household. The demographic difficulties resulting from this are partly recognized in the report on the 1966 census:

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

162 166 621 *Table 3. Initial Residence in Motulahi of Adults Resident in Motulahi in 1970, by Age*

Circumstances of Initial Residence	Age Group			Total
	20—29 (N = 174) %	30—49 (N = 224) %	50 + (N = 95) %	(N = 492) %
Born in Motulahi	35.1	28.1	16.0	28.3
Came Before Age 20	31.0	25.0	11.7	24.6
Came as an Adult	33.9	46.9	72.3	47.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1

Source: Field notes.

125 ethnographic censusing, it is not clear how they are to be presented in a quantifiable form without violating their ethnographic integrity.

Thus, the problem of establishing culturally meaningful indices of migration in Tonga remains. One solution might be to examine how long each person has resided at the place of enumeration. Indeed, this was one of the recommendations made in the official report on the 1956 census (Tupouniua 1958: 28). The recommendation was not imple-
574 mented in the next census, however. The difficulty is that visiting away from home with friends and relatives for a few days or weeks is a favorite activity of Tongans, particularly among young unmarried adults, and such short-term population movements would distort any index of population flow based on the length of residence at the place of enumeration.
574 One cannot get around this problem by asking about the person's normal
591 or ordinary place of permanent residence, because Tongans do not have our concept of permanent residence; instead, they recognize different kinds of what we would call "temporary residence" (see Decktor Korn 1975). This difficulty might be dealt with by enquiring how long the person has/had been living at the place where he was resident for the majority of the previous twelve months. While this does not produce an index of migration, it could serve as an index of the extent of residential stability.

125 As to the question of population flow, an improvement on comparison of place of birth and place of enumeration would be to ask where the

/63 cont./

588 178. In 'Uiha/'Uiha, for example, five of the 82 marriages existing in April 1952 were common-law marriages.

423 425 The economic basis of the family is now generally individual land ownership: every male Tongan at the age of 16 may receive eight and one-half acres of taxable land (for cultivation) and property for his dwelling in the village. (179)

179. If there is no more land to be given out on one's home island, one may apply for it, for example, on Tongatapu where larger areas are still available. But most of the natives prefer to stay with their parents and share in working their land, possibly inheriting it, or they move in with relatives.

[593]

591 582 As a rule, therefore, the wife at her marriage moves to the place of her husband which he has received as his right or which he has taken over from his father or shares with his family. The two spouses either come from the same village, (180)

180. This is the case particularly in larger villages and on remote islands.

or one spouse, usually the woman, comes from /64/ another village or another island. Married couples seldom move to a new place. (181)

[823] [423] [425] 181. Besides a deeply rooted feeling for their home place, greater difficulties in the question of land acquisition by non-residents on most of the Tonga islands are the reason.

For example, in the typical village of 'Uiha of the Ha'apai group on the island of 'Uiha, (182)

182. A large village on a somewhat remote island.

of 61 married couples, both partners were born in 'Uiha; of 15 couples, two husbands and 13 wives came from elsewhere, and of six couples, both partners came from other islands of the Archipelago. (183)

/64 cont./

591 582 183. Among these, however, there are four clergymen who were transferred to 'Uiha.

In Fungamisi, the small neighboring village of the most important urban seaport of Neiafu, (184)

184. The village is very favorably located with respect to traffic.

of nine married couples, both partners were born in the village. Among the partners of 21 other married couples, six men and 15 women came from the outside, while among the remaining six couples, both partners moved there from the outside.

591 592 In general, only one married couple with their children (and possibly relatives) lives on one place in the village. Sometimes older couples will take in the wife of a son.

592 Some Tongans have relatives living with them, including: a widowed mother or father of the husband, probably also his as yet unmarried brothers, less often the husband's sisters, and seldom relatives of the wife. There are also a few households without married couples, /consisting of/ unmarried, widowed, divorced or separated men, or women who keep house by themselves (rare), or together with relatives (usually father or mother, brother, sister, son, daughter).

589 162 Almost all Tongans marry. This is shown in the following survey: The non-married person of marriageable age in the village of 'Uiha (total population 647) may be divided into the following age groups:

under 25 years:	32 male	natives
	35 female	"
between 25 and 40 years:	10 male (1 widower)	"
	8 female (2 widows 2 divorced)	"

/66 cont./

585 The marriage was, of course, entered into only in accordance with
581 ancient Tongan custom (festivity). The legal marriage (registration)
and the church wedding may have contributed to a certain stabilization
583 of marriage. "Flight marriages" (that is, lovers who are of age
585 marrying against the will of their parents by fleeing to another
178 island in the Archipelago and registering their marriage there) which
565 occasionally takes place today, probably did not occur in ancient
Tonga in this form. For the commoners (190)

190. The great majority of commoners were farmers (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 300).

were bound to the soil far more than they are today. They cultivated
[427] the land of the chiefs which the latter /67/ lent them against duties,
[571] and they were so greatly dependent on their masters that they were
permitted under no circumstances to change from one territorial
565 jurisdiction to another. Working his individual land naturally gave
585 the commoner more freedom. The far fewer economic burdens probably
178 had a beneficial effect on family life, for they usually gave it a
581 sounder basis.--From the preceding account and the figures given it
[590] becomes clear that the family has remained predominantly patrilocal
[611] and patrilinear. The way of life of commoners in pre-European times
[582] suggests that the marriage partners came from the same locality even
more than is the case today.

565 A considerable change took place in the family life of nobles.
178 As a result of the Christianization of the Archipelago they gave up
595 polygamy, apparently with littly resistance, and today they lead a
married life resembling that of commoners. Monogamy is thus
593 practiced by all the people, at least outwardly. While wives are
839 mostly faithful to their husbands, many husbands take the liberty of
[178] having affairs with other girls or women. This is apparently an

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

166 rather than move directly into the capital. Movement from these areas into Nuku'alofa primarily involves young age groups, such as school girls attending Queen Salote College.

Two factors stimulate movement from the outer islands. Centrifugal forces push people out of Ha'apai and Vava'u, while centripetal forces pull these people to Tongatapu. The most notable examples of these forces are greater opportunities for social mobility through education, improved transportation facilities between the islands, recent hurricanes in Ha'apai and Vava'u, an outbreak of black leaf streak in Vava'u, and the urban attractions of Nuku'alofa. Each of these forces can be related to economics. Simply, the average Tongan is seeking to improve his economic status to moving himself, if not his entire family, to Tongatapu.

166 362 [591] These movements to Tongatapu are complicating the already serious problem of land and housing shortages on that island. As a result, migrants often live with relatives, or within the crowded substandard dwellings near Nuku'alofa. Examples are especially prevalent along the major roads between Nuku'alofa and Pea.

166 [591] Interviews with individuals residing under these conditions revealed two important facts. If employment is secured and a permanent home established, the individual can expect additional family members and relatives to also migrate and move in with him, resulting in a cyclical process. In addition, it was found that as families leave Ha'apai and Vava'u, farmlands are not properly maintained, due to the absence of male family members, who are usually the first to migrate. Therefore, the the Kingdom is experiencing a severe

[241]

[162]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

A survey of employment preferences indicated that 83 percent of the respondents preferred to remain in agriculture. However, this response was given for one or both of the following reasons: (1) agricultural employment was preferred to unemployment, and/or (2) agriculture was perceived to be the only employment opportunity available to the interviewee. Several respondents stated that if they were given urban employment, they would abandon farm work, even if it meant a minor reduction in cash income.

It is not the purpose of this research to present an indepth analysis of Tongan urban environments. However, mention of the more fundamental issues is appropriate. In the future, in addition to limited opportunities for employment and a steadily increasing crime rate, the urban officials will have to contend with inadequate housing, expanding squatter sections and increasing public health problems resulting from the lack of adequate sewage and refuse disposal.

More significantly, the entire migratory process evidences a weakening of traditional Tongan social and cultural norms. Frequently, the movement of households to the urban area disrupts the traditional extended family system. Although family ties are never severed entirely, there is a distinct transition from the system of extended families evident in small rural villages, to the nuclear families found in larger villages and urban areas. However, in instances in which extended family ties are maintained, an urban family may anticipate the eventual arrival of rural relatives. The new arrivals reside with the established urban household until

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

369 596 593 591 166 employment is found or a means of establishing a new urban household is secured. At this point division is accomplished and the newly urbanized family becomes another potential host to migrating relatives. This system with its chain nature of migratory urbanization was observed in many of the surveyed urban households.

369 166 Thus, migration to urban areas has been in response to economic and social pressures for education, employment and the prestige of urban living, plus a lessening attachment to the traditional village life style. Therefore, migratory trends are indicative of cultural and economic changes in Tonga, which are expected to continue.

436 178 With the development of cash cropping and a greater dependency being placed upon a cash economy, money has become an essential to the average Tongan. Not only is it needed to meet social obligations (i.e., education, taxes and church contributions) but it is also increasingly important in satisfying the basic subsistence needs of both rural and urban residents. The desire to increase cash income has altered the agricultural pattern of the nation from traditional to cash cropping, thus eliminating a dependency upon the land for production of food and material necessities. These changes have been facilitated by fluctuations in post-World War II copra prices, and such natural disasters as drought and hurricanes.

178 241 182 [458] [73]

369 166 [464] While Nuku'alofa does not offer full-time employment to most migrants, there remains the possibility for part-time labor, sufficient to meet the minimum cash requirements. Thus, urban